2: Damm et al. --189 [6] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 836, 864 Faraulep

As a rule, there is no sexual intercourse before the marriage, but this is not always true. The older people instruct the younger ones systematically about it (ria - vagina, ǒunum - clitoris).

28: Spiro--94-95 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864 Ifalik

"When the infant passes the 'no savvy nothing stage' its parents are concerned about his sexual behavior. Adults insist that infants engage in no sexual activity. However, I have often observed infants masturbating, or at least manipulating their genitals. (13) [95] Apparently, however, the adult's view of children does not permit them to accept the fact of infantile sexuality. Once the infant reaches the age of understanding, sexual activity is strictly interdicted. Heterosexual behavior does not occur, at least I observed none. But masturbation does occur, and is strongly disapproved of. Masturbation, it is believed, stunts the child's growth, and/or to cause illness, and a child persisting in it is beaten."

"13. Adults, do not masturbate children, and are both shocked and amused at the suggestion of the possibility. However, the adult practice of smelling the genitals may provide an erotic stimulation for the infant."

28: Spiro--95
116, 291, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This prohibition of sexual behavior does not extend to adult patterns of sexual modesty, however. The little children, both male and female, are completely nude, and the adults make no attempt to inculcate modesty with respect to clothes. The children are not given clothes to wear until they 'savvy shame.' The inception of the sense of shame reveals a sharp sexual difference, however. Boys are nude until the ages of seven or eight, but girls begin to wear skirts at about the age of three or four."

28: Spiro--96 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 842, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Children begin to ask questions about this time, and the parents or adults usually answer them realistically, there being no body of knowledge that is concealed from them. Questions concerning the mystery of birth, either their own or of others, occur, according to some informants, but not according to others. In a study of all children in the island, it was revealed that none had any conscious conception of childbirth and conception, and none had ever asked their parents. This survey was substantiated by a number of adult informants who insisted that their children had never asked. On the other hand, at least one man claimed that his children did ask, and that he had explained to them the processes of conception and childbirth. The adult informants who claimed that their children had not inquired into human parenthood, asserted that they did inquire into animal parenthood, in which case the parents were evasive. When the child asked where a dog, for example had come from, they would answer that it had come from Rauau or Felarik, (naming various districts in the island.) If this answer did not satisfy the child, and he attempted to probe further, he was rebuked, and told to stop inquiring further into the matter. ('What you talk about to me? You stop. You no talk about that.')

On all other questions however, the children are given the available information, if there is information. On the other hand, if the parents don't know, they discourage the child from probing. For example, children who ask about the creation or function of heavenly bodies, or other natural phenomena, such as the wind: 'You ask me? Me savvy? Very bad talk, I no savvy.'"

28: Spiro--116
116, 827, 864, 834, 952

"Sexual activity of any kind is completely taboo [illegible]. Should a child engage in masturbation or intercourse, his parents would be shocked and he would be punished. However, I have often seen babies masturbating, or at least fingering their genitals, and never once have I seen any adult suppress this activity.

In young children I have not observed actual heterosexuality. Though I have often observed children playing with, or fingering their genitals, with no consequences at all from the adults. Some of the young boys, about four or five years of age, would pretend for long periods of time in handling their penis, thus masturbating a constant erection. The other boys or men would laugh at this, but not reprimand them. Enough to focus on this topic, the entire child population observed that they did not touch it unless masturbating, and yet Talimera drew a picture of a masturbating boy, which attracted quick attention from the other boys.

Whether children engage in overt heterosexual activity is a question I cannot answer. Both adults and children profess to know of no such behavior, and I myself never observed any."

28: Spiro--116 [2]
116, 291, 864, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"It is to be emphasized that the young children wear no clothes, so that the sexual differences between boys and girls is obvious to them. They do not wear clothes until they themselves feel a sense of shame in their nudity, and this, we have already pointed out, shows a sex difference. The little girls put on clothes earlier than the boys, all girls wearing grass skirts by the time they are five, whereas the boys may not wear loin-cloths till they are eight or nine. This results in sexual exhibitionism, as well as play. For example, in the midst of a number of playmates, Taurilus, three year old girl, urinated while standing, holding a large coconut midrib, which touched the ground, in her hand. The others smirked at her, and she stood with a look of enjoyment on her face, enjoying the exhibition. Lezabung, a four year old, stood in front of me, while I was sitting in a house, then bent backwards so that her genitalia were practically in my face, and began to laugh and giggle. Talemelemar would often walk around with a piece of paper or some other object on his penis, and strut about showing it to others."

28: Spiro--116 [3]
116, 864, 827, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This awareness of sexual anatomical differences is revealed by other facts. Talemelmar had a loin cloth for about a week. One evening he came out nude, and Iliakong pointed at his penis, and laughed, whereupon he pointed to her vagina, and scornfully said, 'tingi'--vagina. He then went into the house, and came out wearing a loin cloth."

28: Spiro--116-117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-2
116, 864, 827, 839 Ifalik

"On another occasion Talemelmar tried everything in his power to draw attention to his penis while in the group of seven other children calling their attention to it. He played with it with his hands. He walked with his back tilted so that his penis was in the air. He tied a coconut leaf strip around it, all of which succeeded in gaining his end-attention. Iliakong was becoming more and more resentful of his centrality, and tried to gain the attention of the others, but she could not compete with him. She began to roll on the ground, followed by Talemelemar, and then they began to play tag running around a circle. Suddenly she made a grab for his penis, but he repelled her. In what was a final gesture for attention, she suddenly got down on hands and knees, her buttocks in the air, and urinated with her back to the other children, anus and genitals in full view. This illustration, shows the awareness of both boys and girls of the superiority of the boy's genital over the girl's, and the latter's necessity of doing something drastic in order to compete with him. [117]

But the children do more than point to their genitals, they often try to grab them, particularly as a punishment for some wrong committed. Almost invariably, when a child frustrates another child of the opposite sex, the latter will grab for the genitals of the other. Often, however, this is done with no attempt at punishment. This mutual grabbing of the genitals is a very common occurrence.

28: Spiro--116-117
116, 864, 827, 839

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

The genitals are often the objects of aggression, though seldom the weapon of aggression. The anus is the 'sexual' weapon of aggression among children. Often if a child is frustrated he will bend to the ground with his anus in the air, and simulate a flatulation sound with his mouth. At least once, I observed this behavior as a game. The boys and girls would lie on the ground, whereupon one would approach another, 'flatulating' in his face, and this would evoke loud laughter from them all.

Though the genitals are seldom used as weapons of aggression, their names may be so used. Talavusman was angry at Talemelemar, and shouted 'tingi' at him. Iliakong was angry at a little girl, and said that she copulated. This evoked great laughter from all the children present."

28: Spiro--117 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 123, 857, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The interest of the children in sexual differences led them to an interest in my sexual characteristics. There is one recurrent theme in my field notes, an entry that occurs almost every day--the attempt of the young children to either look up my shorts, or actually feel my penis. This behavior was characteristic of both the boys and the girls. They would lie or kneel beneath me looking up my shorts and giggling, or they would try to put their hands up my shorts. This was not just innocent children's behavior. They knew full well that this was tabooed behavior, for they would become embarrassed, and simulate other activity the moment I let them know that I knew what they were doing."

28: Spiro--117 [2]
116, 857, 839, 864

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"I saw the children play only one game which was an obviously sexual game. A little boy and girl played a game in which they bent their heads between their legs, and then walked backwards towards each other, until they bumped buttocks. They would continue this for a number of times, either bumping buttocks or rubbing them together."

28: Spiro--117 [3]
116, 535, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another form of sexual activity is the children's imitation of the bwarux dance, the sexual dance which a girl performs for her lover. Usually an older person would rebuke them and force them to stop. But in the case of the very young children, the women would not only encourage them, but even instruct them in the motions, and would then go into peals of laughter."

28: Spiro--117 [4] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 839, 864 Ifalik

"The women have little compunction about discussing sexual matters in the presence of the girls, and the men none in the presence of boys. Often, the men will engage in sexual 'horseplay' with the boys. For example, a young man or grown one, for that matter, may grab at the exposed penis of the boy, the latter invariably withdrawing with a mock-serious threat. Or a man may tickle the boy's penis with a twig. Talemelemar was the constant butt of men's jokes because the shape of his penis was bit different from that of the natives. One other person, Otilivok, a young man of about 18, had the same shaped-penis, a person might tease him by saying 'just like Talemelemar', that is, his penis is like Talemelemar's."

28: Spiro--118
116, 864, 291

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Once the children begin to wear clothes, they reveal adult attitude towards sex and body exposure. At least twice I was walking along the shore where the young girls were washing and chanced upon them wearing only a g-string, having taken off their grass skirts before entering the water. When they saw me, they became positively panicky, and dove right into the water.

Another time, a little boy snatched the grass skirt from a girl. Only the back part came off. She began to weep, backing into a tree, so that no one could observe her buttocks."

28: Spiro--118 [2]
116, 593, 864

"Though boys and girls may have no sexual or physical contact, there is one relationship that permits of physical contact--siblings of the opposite sex. Most siblings of the opposite sex can have no physical contact at all, but children may sit on each other's laps, lie together arm in arm, or with arms encircling each other. This occurs until about the age of ten. Usually, this behavior obtains between a girl and her younger brother."

28: Spiro--118 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 864, 857 Ifalik

"Whether children observe adult intercourse or not is a moot point, but they do observe and with great glee, the intercourse of dogs. The boys, young and old, leave everything when they are informed of dogs copulating. The girls, if they watch, do so surreptitiously. The boys usually stand behind a tree or a house, and watch them, laughing all the time. What is most amusing to the boys is the difficulty some of the dogs have in removing their penis from the bitch's vagina. The dogs would whine and yelp, and the boys would howl with glee."

28: Spiro--118-119
116, 864, 842

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

"The children's ideas concerning birth and conception are either private phantasies, or they are ignorant of them completely. Children and young people both, seem to be ignorant of sexual matters, insisting that they have never asked their parents or other adults the answers to the two questions that I asked them. Some of them were embarassed by the questions, but most of them simply confessed their ignorance, and admitted to a lack of curiosity concerning the matters.

A poll of 40 children between the ages of four to sixteen or seventeen reveals the following results.

Table 4

Theories of Conception

Theory	No. of children
Intercourse	3
Food	3
Man	3
Chiefs	2
Good alus	2
Woman	2
Child	1
Ignorance	24

Their phantasies are most interesting, and we shall indicate them briefly. Of the three who attributed conception to intercourse, only one mentioned the semen. One said the woman's blood creates the baby, the other said that the mother's blood and the good alus create the baby. [119]

Of the three that said that the baby is created from food, one said that the husband gives his wife food to eat, from which the baby is created, whilst the others said that it is created from her own food, not mentioning the husband.

Of the two answering, man, one said the husband cuts his wife's stomach with a knife and places the baby inside. The other said that three men make a doll from a stick, which then becomes a baby.

Of the two answering, woman, one said that all women have babies inside their bodies, but they become alive only when they marry.

Most of the children, however, simply did not know how babies were made, nor were they curious to know. They had never asked anyone. The same is true of the baby's birth. Most were ignorant of the birth of a baby. There were some who had ideas, however, which are shown in table 5.

Table 5
Children's Birth Theories

Theory of Birth	No. of Subjects
Vagina	8
Anus	5
Stomach	3
Mouth	1
Ear	1
Navel	1
Ignorance	23"

28: Spiro--119
116, 864, 881, 841

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Sexual activity, as we have already seen, is completely taboo for the children, and does not become licit [sic] until puberty. In the case of the boys there is no puberty ceremony symbolizing the passage from the one state to the other. The girls, however, undergo a puberty ceremony with the onset of menses."

28: Spiro--127-128
116, 839, 864, 522

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Masturbation, azirzir, we have seen, is taboo for children. My informants, however, maintained that children violate the taboo. They also maintained that the [128] children indulge in mutual masturbation and that the women also engage in mutual cunnilinguis. The men do neither. (The informants were men.) However, they did recall two cases of male masturbation. A man in Farulep, one of the Central Caroline islands, was discovered by two women masturbating in a tree. They began to tease him, and he attempted to distract their attention by shouting that a ship was coming, and that he had climbed the tree to observe the ship. (8) The same man was mastrubating in a tree, and the branch on which he was sitting broke, so that he fell to the ground. A man on Rauas in Ifaluk had bored a small hole in the wall of his house, which he used as a masturbatory device, until one day he was observed by some women."

"8. This, and the following stories told with great laughter by the informants."